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ABSTRACT

In 1982 the "Recht decision," in Pauley v. Bailey, found school financing in West Virginia to be inequitable and prescribed quality standards for every aspect of public education. This report examines teachers' responses to resulting school reform efforts. In-depth interviews were conducted with over 200 selected teachers and administrators at five West Virginia sites, and relevant national and state documents were analyzed. Recurrent themes were that teachers: (1) knew little about reform efforts in their county and state, and saw little change in their classrooms; (2) viewed reform as an ineffective "paper exercise"; (3) were angry over low salaries, failing benefits, and excessive paperwork; and (4) felt that they have little control of decision-making in their schools. Elementary teachers have felt the brunt of reform, with the imposition of time requirements on the instructional day, while secondary teachers have been relatively untouched in their classroom practices. Teacher responses fit various profiles, including accommodative, resistant, and self-protective. These themes and profiles support the conclusion that West Virginia teachers are disconnected from and disenfranchised within their schools. Since teachers are the element most crucial to quality education, their exclusion from decision-making in the reform process will certainly impede the achievement of reform goals. This report contains 125 references, a list of West Virginia reform activities since 1982, excerpts from West Virginia State Board of Education policy, and an overview of U.S. school reform and the unique needs of rural schools. (SV)

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Teachers and the Recht Decision:

A West Virginia Case Study of School Reform

by

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September 1989

a Technical Report prepared for the
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DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to all the teachers who were concerned enough about education to talk with me in the open hallways and behind the closed doors of their classrooms, lounges, and work areas in the schools of the property poor as well as the property wealthy counties. I hope that its results give voice to their concerns and hopes for education in West Virginia.

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* * * * *

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The purpose of this research was to explicate the significant issues and dilemmas of school reform from the point of view of selected teachers in West Virginia. Since 1982 the state has been trying to promote a thorough and efficient system of education as mandated by Pauley v. Bailey. Pauley v. Bailey, or as it has come to be known as the "Recht Decision," was the catalyst for reform in the state, a year before the national call for school reform in 1983. The Recht Decision, named after the judge who issued the ruling, is the most far-reaching school finance case to prescribe curriculum and instruction for the public schools of a state. In addition to prescribing the "essential ingredients" of a thorough and efficient system of education, it also prescribed the precise subjects to be taught, number of minutes of instruction, curriculum goals, and, in some cases, classroom methods.

Since this has been a highly prescriptive reform with the potential to affect the lives of all teachers in classrooms throughout the state, I wanted to find out about their responses to school reform seven years after the ruling. I was interested in what Timar and Kirp (1989) call the "conversational dimension" of school reform, i.e., what teachers talk about in hallways and lounges, because "how teachers talk about school improvement colors their actions in the classroom. And those actions, in turn, powerfully influence the success of efforts to achieve educational excellence" (p. 508).

Since 1983 and A Nation at Risk, states have initiated "high visibility, low cost" reform activities to improve the quality of the

schools. Teachers, however, have rarely been participants in this process. Instead, they have been the objects of school reform. By finding out how teachers view and react to school reform such as that occurring in West Virginia, we can learn better how (and if) reform occurs and the role of teachers in it.

This research is interpretive using case study methodology (see Appendix A for a description of the design and procedures of the study). It has three questions: (1.) What is the variety of teacher response to school reform? (2.) What are themes about the nature and conduct of school reform? and (3.) What are speculations about the future of school reform in the state? Two sources of data were used to address these questions: interviews with over 200 selected teachers and others (principals, superintendents, state department officials) in five sites throughout the state, and an analysis of national and state documents relevant to the court case and school reform. The results, addressing each of the three research questions, were: (1.) a profile illustrating the variety of teacher responses to school reform, (2.) a list of themes and dilemmas about the school reform process and the place of teachers in it, and (3.) speculations about the future of educational reform in the state. These results are reported in Chapter 2 of the document.

To set the stage for reporting West Virginia's case, I address the purposes and extent of school reform in the United States, locate the teachers' place in these reform efforts, and, since West Virginia is primarily rural, present the unique needs of rural schools in the reform movement, describing what is known about rural teachers in the first chapter.

SCHOOL REFORM: THE BROADER CONTEXT

Introduction

Much has been written about school reform since the advent of A Nation at Risk in 1983. Although the term "reform" is not as yet a search descriptor, there are over 7000 entries for the terms "educational change," "educational improvement," and "educational quality" in the ERIC data base between 1983 and 1988. The intent of these writings varies.

Some propose ideas for school reform.[1] Included in this category are the highly influential documents like A Nation at Risk and A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century. These "white papers," were catalysts for reform (or as they have been called "clarion calls") prompting states and groups into action. Also included here are reports written by various interest groups that responded to, or extended, an idea of reform. Special interest groups include: major foundations (e.g., The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1988a, 1988b), business (e.g., Committee for Economic Development, 1985), governors (National Governors' Association, 1986), teacher educators (e.g., the Holmes Group, 1986), and policy-oriented academics (e.g., Boyer, 1983; Sizer, 1984; Goodlad, 1984). Writings in this category are primarily intended to shape the direction of school reform.

Another group of writings help to track reform, i.e., summarize, digest, and translate reform activities in the various states (e.g., Pipho, 1986; Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, 1987; Darling-Hammond & Berry, 1988). These writings help to maintain perspective

about the extent and nature of school reform as a movement.

A third group of writings are critiques of the multiple dimensions of reform. They often are explications of its concepts and issues. For example, authors write about the epistemology of reform (e.g., Rich, 1979; Passow, 1989), loss of local control (e.g., Wise, 1988; Kirst, 1989), the pathologies of reform (Timar & Kirp, 1987), its funding (Odden, 1985), unintended consequences (e.g., Toch, 1984), and contradictions (e.g., Cuban, 1988).

When writings in this category focus on the place of teachers in the reform movement, they address concepts such as teacher voice (e.g., McDonald, 1988), teacher beliefs and the implementation of school reform (Eisenhart, Cuthbert, Shrum, & Harding, 1988), and the professionalization of teachers (e.g., Darling-Hammond, 1987). Also included are topics which concern reform's negative consequences such as "the remote control of teaching" (Shulman, 1983), "legislated learning" (e.g., Wise, 1979), "defensive teaching" (McNeil, 1988) and "the deskilling and proletarianization of teachers" (e.g., Apple, 1983).

A fourth group of writings help to determine the impact of reform efforts within and across states. Included here are implementation studies (e.g., Chance, 1986; Fuhrman, Clune, & Elmore, 1988; Kirst, 1986; Odden & Anderson, 1986) and writings that concern reform's progress (e.g., Bennett, 1988; Fiske, 1989; Hechinger, 1987). These writings (often from policymakers) contain prescriptions for success.

A fifth group of writings are testimonials that affirm improvement efforts. I call them "What Works" writings after former

Secretary of Education William Bennett's report of the same name (U.S. Department of Education, 1986). Bob Slavin (1989) refers to them as "gee whiz reports." Included are those about educational practices that peaked in popularity during this decade like the Madeline Hunter model of teaching/evaluation (e.g., Mandeville & Rivers, 1989), Assertive Discipline (e.g., Canter, 1988), and school improvement approaches (e.g., Casner-Lotto, 1988).

This case study of West Virginia contributes to the third group of writings and explicates issues of school reform from the voices of teachers in the state. In this case study I explicate the variety of teacher responses to school reform in West Virginia and resulting issues and dilemmas.

To set the stage for West Virginia's case in this first chapter, I address the purposes and extent of school reform in the states, locate the teachers' place in these reform efforts, and, since West Virginia is primarily rural, present the unique needs of rural schools in the reform movement, and describe what is known about rural teachers.

Purposes and Extent of School Reform

The 1980s has been a decade of school reform in the United States.[2] A Nation at Risk in 1983 heralded reform, directed at both higher education and the public schools. A Nation at Risk was an important national policy document, generated by a special commission appointed by then President Reagan. It spoke of a crisis of confidence in the public schools, blaming the schools for the declining economy

and weakened national security (Passow, 1987). Indicators of this crisis included poor achievement test scores, the high cost to business and the military for providing remedial and training programs, levels of illiteracy among American children and adults, and poor performance on comparative studies of educational achievement with other countries. The last time there had been such a national crisis over education was in 1957 when the Russian's launched Sputnik.[3]

Since 1983, virtually every state has responded to this national call for school reform, often with "low cost, high visibility activities" (Kemmerer & Wagner, 1985). It had been estimated that there were over 300 task forces, 700 statutes enacted in various state legislatures, and 39 additional reports generated by various groups from all sectors of society (Passow, 1989; McLaughlin, Pfeiffer, Swanson-Owens & Yee, 1985; Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, 1987).

While these numbers provide one perspective on the extent of reform in the states, Timar and Kirp (1987) provide another:

> The school reform movement has resulted in a whole new body of rules governing the behavior of teachers, students, and administrators. For students, there are rules about participation in sports and other extracurricular activities, about how much and what kind of homework must be done, and about how many times they may miss school before failing their courses. Students are also subject to rules about what kinds of courses they must take, how much time to devote to each subject each day, and what topics each class must cover. For teachers, there are rules regarding placement on career ladders and eligibility for merit pay. For local school trustees, there are rules requiring their participation in training programs. In some states, the law now prescribes how often daily announcements may be made over the school intercom system. There are even rules that permit state school officials to place schools deemed unsatisfactory into receivership and to fire school administrators and, presumably,

trustees (p. 309).

What do all of these reform efforts have in common? They are designed to either upgrade teacher quality or improve student achievement, two major targets of reform. They are based on the public's (and policymakers') lack of confidence in teacher skill and fear that schools are staffed by many, rather than a few, incompetent teachers.

Teachers' Place and Voice in Reform

Teachers have been the objects of--not participants in--school reform. The title of a newspaper article about a study commissioned by the U.S. Education Department is most telling of public attitude toward teachers: "Study Concludes Unions Aren't Obstacles to Better Schools" (1988). This finding conflicted with a continued claim made by then U.S. Secretary of Education Bennett who believed that teacher unions were the major obstacle to improving schools (The Rand Corporation, 1988).[4]

A basic, and often unarticulated, assumption that drives reform is a skepticism "as to whether teachers, coming as they do from the lowest scholastic aptitude level, are really capable of teaching to higher standards" (Passow, 1984, p.5). One purpose of reform is, after all, to "amend the defective, vicious, corrupt, or depraved. It also aims to...restore a person to standards from which he has lapsed" (Rich, 1979, p.32). Shulman (1983) describes the public's fear that schools are staffed by incompetent teachers:

> teachers who do not teach, or teach only what they please to those who please them; who prefer the transient kicks of

> frills and fads to the tougher, less rewarding regimen of achieving tangible results in the basic skills; who close their school house doors and hide their incompetence behind union-sheltered resistance to accountability and merit increases; whose low expectations for the intellectual prowess of poor children leads them to neglect their pedagogical duties toward the very groups who need instruction most desperately; or whose limited knowledge of the sciences, mathematics, and language arts results in their misteaching the most able (p.484).

Such an attitude has come to be known as "teacher bashing," which is "blaming the majority of the schools' problems on an inadequately prepared teacher corps" and which "reflects a naive understanding of the teaching-learning process and what schools actually accomplish" (Berman, 1988, p.42).

With the advent of two happenings, however, teachers no longer shouldered the entire blame for "the rising tide of mediocrity."[5] First, when the effective schools research reached its peak of popularity in the mid 1980s, some policymakers began to acknowledge that the key unit for change was the individual school, not the state. The seeming common sense correlates of effective schools helped simplify the public's view of school improvement and redirected blame and pressure to the school level and the principal.[6] In so doing, it also, unfortunately, gave the illusion of reform at little or no cost (Olson, 1986; Purkey & Smith, 1983).[7]

Second, the national report, <u>A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century</u> appeared on the scene in 1986 and gave teachers a legitimate voice. It was important that presidents of the nation's major teacher associations were members of this Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession. Mary Futrell of the National Education Association (NEA) and Albert Shanker of the American Federation of

Teachers (AFT) were spokespersons for their respective associations on this committee and also during this decade of reform."

Most importantly, teachers were seen as "crucial" to the successful implementation of school reform, but "frustrated--to the point of cynicism":

> They see little change in the things that matter most to them,...They see the bureaucratic structure within which they work becoming even more rigid, and the opportunities for exercising professional judgment becoming even more limited. Increasingly, they believe that teachers are being made to pay the price for reform and many do not believe that the current conception of reform will lead to real gains for students (p.26).

Teachers were also cynical about their working conditions:

> Teachers spend between 10 percent and 50 percent of their time on non-instructional duties--everything from recording test scores to monitoring the halls, from doing lunchroom and playground duty to running the ditto machine. They are constantly running out of supplies, forced to use outdated texts, and make do with inadequate materials. Skilled support help is rarely available, nor the time to do the job right (p.40).

In response, the task force called for "a fundamental redesign" and a "restructuring" of the educational system to provide a professional environment for teachers. This restructuring would include increased standards in teacher preparation; higher pay; a new professional category called Lead Teacher; more teacher autonomy but with greater accountability for student achievement; more support staff; more time to reflect, plan, and discuss innovations and problems with colleagues; and a greater voice in decision making at the school level.

Teacher voices have also been represented in three national surveys conducted since A Nation Prepared. They have been sponsored by the NEA (1988), The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of

Teaching (1988a), and Phi Delta Kappa (Elam, 1989). In these surveys teachers "grade" reform and report their frustrations and views on a range of issues.

In a survey sponsored by the NEA, 1800 teachers reported their sources of frustration as inadequate resources and lack of influence over decision making (NEA, 1988; The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1988b). In another survey entitled Report Card on School Reform: The Teachers Speak, 13,500 teachers reported both "good news" and "bad news." The good news was that teachers believe that student achievement has improved in the basic skills, that school goals have been clarified, that academic expectations have been raised, and that principals have exercised more leadership. The bad news is that most teachers graded school reform efforts with a "C" and felt that working conditions have not improved. They reported more work, too much paperwork and less time, authority, and freedom to do it (The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1988a).

In the Gallup Poll of teachers, the most recent survey, teachers expressed their views on various issues, including reform. More teachers said that the public schools in their community have stayed the same (38%) or gotten worse (25%) than have improved in the last five years. Teachers leave the classroom, they believe, due to low salaries, lack of public financial support for education, and low standing of teaching as a profession." On the topic of control of the educational process, they believe that they still have control over what to teach in a class, but want more control over how to teach, selecting textbooks and instructional materials, placing students in

selecting textbooks and instructional materials, placing students in classes, setting policies on grading and homework, and determining academic standards (Elam, 1989).

Generally, teachers have accommodated to, rather than shaped, reform. Many have hoped that such reforms, coupled with increases in salaries, would serve to professionalize them, making them more respected as are other professions (or so they believe). Mary Futrell (1988) characterizes a hoped-for shift in the role of teachers in reform:

> Until fairly recently, the teacher's role in shaping educational policies and programs was limited primarily to the classroom. Over the past few decades, however, as the context of teaching has evolved, that role has shifted from teachers as the objects of change to being advisers to and then partners in change; now they are emerging as leaders of change. Teachers are taking more responsibility for their profession and for the conditions under which they work [emphasis added] (p. 375).

Reform and Rural Schools

Definitions of "rural" may vary, but most use population density as a base. According to the Department of Commerce (1983), "rural" is any nonmetropolitan area, that is, any area that is not at least one central city of 50,000 inhabitants. In 1980 approximately 25 percent of the population of 226.5 million resided in nonmetropolitan areas.

Using the Department of Commerce's definition, approximately two-thirds of the public school systems in the nation are rural schools which educate from one-fourth to one-third of the nation's school-age population (Stephens, 1988). One third of all practicing classroom teachers teach in rural areas (National Center for Educational Statistics, 1980). In West Virginia almost one-half of the state's

state's definition, i.e., sparsely populated with "10 or fewer students per square mile, based on 1988-89 net enrollment" (Special Task Force on Rural School Districts, 1989, p.2).

Rural populations typically have a higher proportion of the very young, the very old, and the very poor. The primary economic activities of a rural area include farming, manufacturing, mining, government, federal lands, and retirement. Ninety-two percent of the poverty counties in the United States are located in Appalachia, the Ozark-Ouachita Plateau, and the Mississippi Delta (Stephens, 1988). McCormick (1988) refers to America's rural poor at "America's Third World."

Rural schools have been called "the forgotten schools of [today's] education reform movement" (Cole, 1988) and have been largely ignored until the last decade. Research on the problems, issues and trends in rural schools has been "relatively scarce, of very uneven quality, and typically found either in relatively obscure state department documents or in the work of scholars not identified with mainstream educational research" (DeYoung, 1987, p.123-124).[10]

Rural schools have always been considered "provincial" and "old-fashioned" and it was believed that they could only be made more efficient if they followed the model of urban schools. In fact, it was argued that rural schools would and should disappear. This is why they have been largely ignored (DeYoung, 1987; Smith & DeYoung, 1988).

Consolidation has been and continues to be the answer to the improvement of rural schools, more so due to convictions than empirical research. It is assumed that bigger schools can offer more

specialized materials, courses, and teachers at greater savings. Research which addresses their strengths tends to be ignored. Rural schools can provide small class sizes and greater individual attention to students; have a low dropout rate and a safe, orderly environment; and experience a strong student, community, and faculty commitment to the school. Instead, their weaknesses are more often cited as reasons for consolidation. Weaknesses frequently cited include: low student enrollment and performance; limited curriculum offerings, support services, and financial resources; and difficulties in recruiting and retaining staff (Smith & DeYoung, 1988; Stephens, 1988).

Of his speculations on school reform since 1986, Stephens (1988) is not too optimistic about the future of rural schools. If the reform movement swings to deregulate and give schools more autonomy, then rural schools would be free of many mandates that are costly and impossible to implement due to limited enrollment and staff. Likewise, if the current interest in schools as providers of day-care and community services continues, this trend could further strengthen the role of schools in rural communities. On the other hand, trends like increased standards for teachers and the curriculum and state receiverships could have negative consequences, continuing to place additional strain on staff and finances. If declared "academically bankrupt" and placed in state receiverships, then people could lose what has been considered the heart of their rural community.

Teachers in Rural Schools

Research has also tended to ignore teachers in rural settings.

When writings exist on this topic, they are general in nature, come from first hand observations, and tend more to characterize than systematically profile the rural teacher.

For example, quality teachers are important because they are "the curriculum" for rural schools (Sher, 1983b). Teachers are usually natives of the immediate area, who attended a nearby college, and who "have never taught anywhere else, and they probably never will" (Cole, 1988, p. 140). They typically have exceedingly low salaries, teach in older buildings with limited equipment and little support for instructional materials or professional development, and have 5-6 daily preparations (Cole, 1988).

Sher (1983b) identifies three types of individuals who teach in rural schools:

> Homebodies...who grew up in rural areas very similar to those in which they teach. The time they spent in training and practice teaching is often their only 'outside' experience....Flashes in the pan. These are individuals, usually quite young, who come to the rural school either involuntarily or because they see such a post as a useful steppingstone....Transplants. These are people from urban areas who have moved to the country. Frequently they come because their spouses have been reassigned to jobs nearby or because of a conscious rejection of the urban lifestyle [emphasis added] (p.260).

Their recruitment and retention has been a long-standing problem.

SCHOOL REFORM IN WEST VIRGINIA

In 1982 reform came to the schools of the state through a school finance case, Pauley v. Bailey, which has been called the most far-reaching, school finance case to prescribe curriculum and instruction for the public schools of a state (Hazi, 1983). Appearing shortly before a Nation at Risk, the state claimed it had a headstart on reform.

In this chapter I describe the case of school reform in West Virginia. In its first section I present background on the state and its system of education, on the court case which prompted reform, on reform activities since 1982, and conclude with information about its teachers. The remaining sections address each of the three research questions of the study: (2.) What are themes about the nature and conduct of school reform? (1.) What is the variety of teacher response to school reform? and (3.) What are speculations about the future of school reform in the state?

This chapter has been compiled from multiple sources of data from interviews and from documents. For a detailed account of the research design and procedure see Appendix A.

Background

The State and Its Schools

West Virginia is the only state fully immersed in the Appalachian region. Its economy includes coal, manufacturing, tourism, and the service-producing industries.[11] It has had a jobless rate that has

service-producing industries.[11] It has had a jobless rate that has ranged from a high of 14.6 percent to the current low of 6.5 percent. Since 1988 the state has just begun to see signs of an economic recovery ("Jobless rate lowest for an April in 10 years," 1989; McCarthy, 1989).[12]

West Virginia is considered to be the second most sparsely populated state in the nation with a population of 1.8 million. Twenty-six percent of its population is school age. More than 79% of its people still live there, compared with most Americans who migrate to live in other states. The state's per capita income is the second lowest in the nation ($11,020 in 1987 compared with $15,481 nationally). From 1980 to 1986 the state ranked third in the nation in the percentage of people who received federal food stamps and third in the percentage of males who said they were disabled. The median age of the population is 35.7 and 56% finish high school (Bowen, 1985; Ernst, 1989; "Answering the charge," 1989; WVEA, 1988).

West Virginia has 55 county school systems and 319,330 students. Even though it spends 25.5% of its total budget on public schools, it still ranks 29th among the states in per pupil expenditures (of $3,067). County boards of education receive an average of 65% of their funds from the state (as calculated from a formula based on student enrollment), 27% from local levies, and 8% from the federal government ("Answering the charge," 1989; Pisapia, 1989; WVDE, 1989).

Twenty-five of these counties are small and rural, according to the state's definition. Of what is known about these rural school systems,[13] they:

* have little or no commerce to help increase the tax base
* have an average of 5.15 students per square mile
* have 51% of their students on free or reduced lunches
* have a higher percent of their students in special education
* spend a higher percent of their budget on transportation (which is 40 % higher than the state average)
* employ more itinerant teachers, and
* are more likely to use Step 7 funds for basic costs (e.g., textbooks)
(Special Task Force on Rural School Districts, 1989).

Students who go to school there are more likely to:

* come from a family
  - whose income is below the state average
  - who has been unemployed, and
  - who has dropped out of school,
* begin their day with a long bus ride,
* receive a free or reduced lunch,
* receive some form of special education services, and
* become a dropout
(Special Task Force on Rural School Districts, 1989).

All of these conditions contribute to a bleak climate for the state as well as for its schools.

The Catalyst of Reform: The Recht Decision

In 1975 Janet Pauley filed a suit against the state because, in her judgment, her five children (then of school age) were not receiving a "thorough and efficient" education in the Lincoln County schools, as required by the state's constitution. She claimed that the state's financing system discriminated against those counties that had less property wealth and that the Pauley children did not have access to quality education in Lincoln, one of the property-poor counties of the state (Hazi, 1985).

Although the case was dismissed for insufficient evidence, it was later appealed to and heard by the West Virginia Supreme Court in 1979, then remanded to a circuit court to determine the standards of a

thorough and efficient system of schools. Circuit Court Judge Arthur Recht found that the financing of education was unconstitutional and that Lincoln County schools were "woefully inadequate." In 1982 he issued a 244-page ruling based on the testimony of educational experts in the state. The ruling included mandates for quality standards in the areas of finance, curriculum, personnel, transportation, facilities, equipment, and materials. Pauley v. Bailey, or as it has come to be known as the "Recht Decision," further prescribed the precise subjects to be taught, number of minutes of instruction, curriculum goals, and, in some cases, classroom methods. For example,

> math is to be taught 55 minutes per day in grades 1-4, 275 minutes per week in grades 5-8, and 225 minutes per week in grades 9-12...the goals of language arts are to "develop students who are literate [and]...able to read, write, speak, hear, observe, understand, and utilize mass media (radio, television, film, print)."...The text of the decision not only indicates what should be taught but also how it should be taught: role play, hearing and questioning classroom speakers, making surveys, simulation and gaming, acting out scripts, working on community projects, field trips, and viewing films. If specific methods are not cited, other requirements are: "50 percent of available instructional time is spent on involvement with...hands-on activities" or "60 percent lab" (Hazi, 1983, p. 68-69).

The decision addressed every conceivable aspect of the public schools.

In response to this ruling, the State Department of Education established a Committee of 99 (made up of educational specialists, representatives of several educational organizations, and members of the general public) to develop a Master Plan for implementing these standards. The Master Plan was subsequently approved by the Judge with minor modification.[18]

This Master Plan was called many things at the time---"a blueprint, road map, bold approach to solving educational problems, a

once-in-a-lifetime opportunity, a living, breathing document" (Hazi, 1985, p.77). It was based on a single principle:

> every child, no matter where they [sic] live in the state of West Virginia, should have an equal opportunity to complete high quality programs of study and master learning outcomes. The Plan is a long-term strategic view of what education should be in the state of West Virginia. It is a vision of the common good" (Pisapia, 1984c, p.2).

The Master Plan describes the elements of a quality system of education:

> 1. high quality educational and support programs that dictate a set of core learning outcomes supporting adaptability and life-long learning;
>
> 2. required administrative and instructional practices, personnel, facilities, and instructional materials, supplies and equipment to deliver such programs and services, and
>
> 3. accountability measures needed to assure the public that a thorough and efficient system of education is being provided students enrolled in the public schools of West Virginia (Pisapia, 1984a, p.1).

It was a 356-page comprehensive "vision" of reform that was to be incrementally phased in by the year 2000.

Reform in West Virginia, according to John Pisapia, Acting State Superintendent of Schools (at the time of this study),[16] was planned to be both top-down and bottom-up. Paraphrasing Pisapia (1984c), reform "employs a top down shared vision of excellence," allowing local schools to determine their own priority and pace of implementation "in accordance with available resources." Local schools, however, were accountable to that vision as represented in the Master Plan. The philosophy of the state's approach to reform can be best summed up with the following quote:

> To improve schooling, many people think freedom is the key to excellence, decentralization and deregulation are essential to

> educational reform and producing a distinct identity. Others disagree. They feel improving schools must have both announced expectations from top level leadership and organization for improvement at the local level. Their focus is not on management or teachers, but on the development of partnership for excellence. West Virginia's school improvement model follows this latter line of thought (Pisapia, 1984c, p. ii).

In addition, four assumptions ("main themes") further make explicit the state's approach to implementation: "(1) more with more, 2) more with less, 3) productivity through people, and 4) progress toward perfection" (Pisapia, 1984a, p.2). Recognizing the limitations of funding, counties were encouraged to do more by prioritizing improvements when more money was available. The second assumption, "more with less," requires efficient management, "getting more out of the money you...have, and being more effective with its use..." (p.3). "Productivity through people," picks up on school, staff, and program improvement opportunities to allow people "the ownership of their educational destiny." The fourth theme, "Progress Towards Excellence," is about how change is phased in "slowly".

Reform Activities Since 1982

Reform activities in the state have been varied and most have come from those listed in the Master Plan. According to Pisapia (1989) three strategies were used to implement the Master Plan: (1.) defining a high quality program through learning outcomes, (2.) developing the human capacity to lead, and (3.) accountability through County Accreditation.

Reform activities can be grouped into three major categories: (1.) Upgrading Teacher/Administrator Quality (e.g., the Principals'

Academy, competency testing, and a uniform evaluation policy), (2.) Upgrading the Curriculum (e.g., increased graduation requirements, specified ranges of instructional time K-8, additional curriculum offerings) and (3.) Administrative (e.g., salary equity, county accreditation). Appendix B includes an illustrative list of reform activities.[17] Most reforms implemented since 1982 have been on the fringe of the classroom. As will be shown, those that have had the most direct impact, as mentioned by teachers, have been those concerning instructional time and lesson plans.

Since the Master Plan was a "white paper," the State Board of Education (SBE) enacted various policies to implement its contents.[18] SBE Policy 2510 was the "framework" for delivering a thorough and efficient system of education as required by Recht and the Master Plan. Its major purposes were (and are) to "improve the quality of learning and teaching in the public schools and assure all public school students equal educational opportunities" (Pisapia, 1984b, p.1). When first enacted, counties received an on-site visit as part of county accreditation to determine whether they were in compliance with standards.

Since 1983-84 all counties have participated in at least one on-site review. Each year indicators, found in SBE Policy 2320-21, were added or clarified to move counties towards the standards for a high quality education as found in the Master Plan. Initially, counties had an average of 13 indicators out of compliance in 1983-84, 14.4 in 1984-85, and 1.5 per county in 1985-86 ("Non-compliance findings drop as counties adjust to indicators," 1986). The WVDE (1985-86) feels

that county accreditation has generally been successful:

> The program has assisted counties in making significant progress in the critical areas of instructional time, curriculum, needs assessment, public information, alignment of resource allocation with curricular needs and appropriate transaction of local board business.
>
> Most counties have had increasing difficulty in providing 9-12 electives, complying with textbook adoption criteria, meeting instructional time standards in grades 5-8, providing duty-free lunch periods for teachers, complying with immunization and tuberculin testing rules and sustaining an instructional term of 180 days.
>
> A consistent percentage of counties each year have difficulty providing the proper amount of instructional time in grades 1-4 and 9-12, keeping facilities free from safety hazards and eliminating barriers to handicapped students (p.5).

When asked in an interview about what progress has been made in the state since Recht, the Acting State Superintendent mentioned three: that students have more access to higher level courses,[19] that basic skills have increased in some areas,[20] and that the graduation rate has increased, the biggest success.[21] The most costly item to people has been beginning one direction of reform and switching to another, like starting with county accreditation, then switching to outcome-based accountability measures of testing and school report cards as mandated in Senate Bill 14 of 1988 (Pisapia, 1989).

The Acting State Superintendent reminded me that the Recht Decision was first a "programmatic decision," and second, a "financial decision." "The financial decision never materialized due to the lack of economic viability of the state" (Pisapia, 1989). Three voter amendments were attempted. Each (in 1985, and two in 1988) failed to raise funds for education by increasing its bonding capacity for new school construction or by providing a state-wide excess levy (see e.g., Meckley, 1989).

Although the state ranks fourth in the nation in the effort made for funding education, "until per capita income rises," according to the Acting State Superintendent, "it will be very difficult to do anything more." Pisapia (1989) continued, "We're the only state that's trying to do reform without money...we've had to redistribute funds. We've been able to maintain our funding, but [have had] very little new money."

The results of reform have been mandates to counties with limited incentives for change. Counties have absorbed the cost of most mandates. There have also been a struggle for state versus local control and the implementation of no-to-low cost changes. Teachers have generally accommodated to these changes, according to Kayetta Meadows, President of the West Virginia Education Association (WVEA) because, "it was the first time that teachers were not blamed for the problems of the educational system" (Meadows, 1988). In fact, according to one teacher and WVEA Uniserve representative, teachers were hopeful--

> Teachers had great anticipation...that something was going to be done [for education]. And when that anticipation was not fulfilled, that along with the other conditions, accounted for a lot of teachers...bailing out. They just don't see any light at the end of the tunnel.

Teachers in West Virginia

There are 22,676 teachers in the state. The teaching force is primarily made up of women (71%) who have been teaching for 11 or more years (64%) mostly in West Virginia, who are in their 30s (44%) or over forty years of age (42%) and who usually have a Master's Degree

(55%) (WVEA, 1986).

The beginning salary of a teacher is $15,055. The average salary of $21,904 ranks 49th among the states (substantially below the national average of $29,567). Since 1981 it has fallen 16 spots from a ranking of 33rd. There has been an exodus of teachers from the state within the past few years due to this low salary, a failing benefit system, and a bill which encouraged early retirement. More than 2,000 teachers left the classrooms in 1988 for retirement and jobs in other states. Another 3,000 were expected to leave in 1989 (Kabler, 1989; WVEA, 1988).[22]

Needless to say, teacher morale is an issue in the state. The 1988 study Report Card on School Reform: The Teachers Speak (mentioned earlier) confirms this. Teacher morale in West Virginia was among the lowest in the United States. Most gave a grade of "C" to the reform movement, and felt the increase of political interference in education, the burden of bureaucratic paperwork, and less respect from the community, despite an increase in teacher involvement in setting school goals, selecting textbooks, and shaping the curriculum.

The West Virginia Department of Education (WVDE) has attempted to involve teachers in state reform through the Teachers' Forum.[23] In 1987 and 1988 teachers from each of the 55 school systems discussed issues that were of most concern to them in the Forum. West Virginia has been one of 16 states to initiate these face-to-face discussions between teachers and the State Board of Education. The Forum is "part of a movement to shift the focus of the reform movement from teachers as objects of reform to teachers as partners in reform" (WVDE, 1988,

p.v). When asked to identify the five major issues which place the teaching profession at risk, the theme of the 1988 Forum, teachers said finance, public image, more control, teaching overload, and teacher standards. Finance, their number one issue, included concerns about salary, the failing state retirement and insurance systems, extra duties, salary equity, and educational advancement. On the topic of more control, teachers wanted more control in planning the curriculum, state and local policies, how test scores would be used, and input into local school schedules and assignment of extra duties (WVDE, 1988).[24]

Themes of School Reform

This section addresses the second research question of the study: What are themes about the nature and conduct of school reform? The themes summarize the dialogue that I had with teachers about school reform and are presented first as a backdrop to the next section, a profile of teacher responses to school reform.

Seven themes are presented in the order that seems most natural to tell a story. All information comes from interviews conducted with approximately two hundred teachers (and others) throughout the state unless otherwise noted (see Appendix A for the derivation of themes).

Knowledge about school reform. One of the first things that struck me was that teachers knew very little about school reform efforts in their county and state. When asked, "What changes have you seen in your classroom since the Recht Decision?" teachers first had to recall the purposes of the Recht Decision. They then responded most

often with an emphatic "Nothing!"[28] They then would get serious, trying to reflect on events during their tenure. Teachers in one school called a meeting to talk about Recht just to prepare for my visit. The teachers who seemed to be more knowledgeable were building representatives active in the teacher association.

Indicators of Reform. Most teachers that I interviewed saw little change in their classrooms. A few reported reduced class size and the first step taken toward salary equity as changes. Those in Lincoln County, where Recht was "born," reported more textbooks and equipment that came as a result of Step 7 funds dedicated to classrooms.[28] Some referred to the writing of curriculum guides that had helped define the curriculum "at least on paper." Everyone reported more paperwork.

Rather, teachers used material things as their gauge of reform's progress. Most could only refer to their continued low salaries and failing benefits. Few (if any) mentioned the Master Plan or any of the State Department initiatives (as listed in Appendix B). (If there were efforts like the Teachers' Academy or School Improvement Committee they were never tied in to the Master Plan).

The central office administrators that I interviewed were surprised at teacher response to school reform when I recounted it to them. They could not believe that teachers saw little change in their classrooms. Superintendents, on the other hand, were never surprised. Perhaps this reveals that school reform has its most impact on central office administrators who have to implement its mandates.

This theme may be a function of little information about reform and its progress. A few interviews with principals may partly explain

the flow of information (or lack of it) to teachers. One reported that he withheld information from teachers, believing that they didn't need to know the rationale for changes and that they were tied into something larger like the Master Plan. Another principal reported that when he told teachers, they usually ignored things that didn't directly affect their classrooms.

The Acting State Superintendent confirmed that little information has been systematically communicated to teachers. He, however, believed that teachers didn't need to know the rationale for changes in schools--"I don't think they need to know....It's just good education." When I mentioned that teachers that I spoke with were reporting little change, he viewed it positively as an "indication that something is happening" that local people were "tak[ing] the leadership and tak[ing] the ownership" of reform (Pisapia, 1989).[27]

Reform is a Paper Exercise. The other evidence that teachers have about the presence of school reform in their schools has been the County Accreditation process. They see this as "a waste of time" and "a paper exercise." They would recount the tremendous amount of time and work on committees and documents. Once the teams left, however, nothing was changed in their schools, even when problems were found. Teachers would often express anger about this lack of action.

Who is immune and who is touched by school reform? Elementary teachers have felt the brunt of school reform efforts, while secondary teachers have gone unscathed. Secondary teachers seem to be more immune and able to close their classrooms doors and just teach. This finding seems consistent with my observation that most reform

activities have been on the fringe of the classroom. The exception, which accounts for elementary teacher reaction, includes the imposition of time requirements on the instructional day as found in SBE 2510.

Elementary teachers have had to teach various subjects within specified time ranges. For example, language arts and reading were to take 35-50% of the instructional day, while social studies was to take 5-7%, and music was to take 3-5% of the time. Even "discretionary" time (25-40%) was specified for "additional learning outcomes, reinforcement activities, addressing individual and group interests and needs, language stimulation, and self-help skills" (see Appendix C, Chart IV). Lesson plans had to reflect these time requirements as well.[2]

Elementary teachers said that they were expected to "teach more, sooner." They talked about the pressures of having to "cover" learning outcomes since students were tested on them. Two interviews illustrate this pressure. A kindergarten teacher in one school pointed to stacks of workbooks in frustration, and handed me a checklist of 170 skills that students had to master before going on to first grade. A primary teacher in another school whispered during her interview that she believed elementary students weren't having fun any more and that grades should not be given.

Anger. Many teachers that I spoke with are angry. If they're not angry with "the State" and legislators, then they're angry with each other. Teachers (and mid-level administrators) are angry with "the State" because of low salaries and failing benefits. West Virginia has

been plagued by a struggling economy and costly catastrophes. One teacher explained that the overall condition of the state was like an "umbrella" that seemed to cloud the state's climate and thus, teacher morale, even in the property-wealthy counties.

The first event was in 1985 when a flood, considered "the worst disaster in West Virginia's history," cost 29 counties $10.3 million in school facilities and equipment. Then, during the 1987-88 school year, the governor withheld and delayed state aid payments to schools due to a shortfall in estimated revenue. Next, the state was an estimated $50 million behind in medical claims in 1988. The state failed to put $80 million of the employers' matching share of retirement into the system for the past four years.[29] Finally, the other catastrophe was the loss of $260 million in the state's investment pool due to mismanagement ("The state's crisis," 1989; Vandergrift, 1988).

Needless to say, teachers did not get a salary increase in 1987. In response, they threatened to strike. Instead, they held a one day work stoppage, traveling to Charleston to talk with legislators (Simpson, 1987). Even students went on strike in one county to protest proposed reductions in school personnel ("Harrison students protest cuts," 1987).

What else gets teachers "riled up"? Lesson plans! During the first round of county accreditation visits, a standard on lesson plans[30] from SBE 2321 was interpreted by some county administrators to mean that teachers had to have excessively detailed lesson plans in a particular format. Teachers responded in groups and through WVEA

statewide by rallying against the amount of detail that they had to supply.[31]

If teachers are not angry with "the State," then they're angry with each other. Teachers referred to the proposed strike and the Recht Decision to explain sources of this anger. In one county teachers were still angry with those who refused to strike two years ago. Only 54% of the state's teachers had voted to strike, when 60% was needed (Simpson, 1987).

Moreover, teachers in property-wealthy counties are resentful of teachers in poor counties. Some felt that they have "been held back" and that the quality of their schools has suffered because they "had to wait for the other counties to catch up." They resented losing money to the poorer counties in the attempt to equalize salaries as required by Recht, as the State "takes from the rich to give to the poor" in what one called the "Robin Hood syndrome." Unfortunately, when reform is based on the assumption of "more with less," such a condition only forces teachers (and others) to compete with one another for scarce resources.[32]

Teacher Voice. I mention here the reaction the study has received within the state as an indication that teachers have no legitimate outlet to express their hopes and concerns for education in the state. The study was applauded by those present at the WVEA Fall Conference, one of the interview sites. Teachers, as well as administrators, repeatedly expressed gratitude that someone was concerned enough to ask them their opinion. Quite a few experienced a catharsis, expressing feelings that defied description (or legitimacy) until they

saw how others felt. One teacher said, "I'm a 'teacher advocate' today. I'll 'work-to-the-rule' tomorrow, but I know I'll eventually be 'disillusioned.'" Many chuckled in surprise (or relief) as they read the list of responses. For others the list triggered anger. It even started an argument in one faculty lounge.

Another item about teacher voice comes from those who are active with WVEA. These teachers were the ones who most referred to the intent and content of the Recht Decision. It represented (and still does) a great hope for them and for education in the state. Teacher advocates say they want more input into and control of decision making in their schools. When I asked one whether he reflected the sentiments of his building, he responded, "How do you involve teachers in decision making when you're struggling for survival? It's like trying to appreciate the aesthetic value of West Virginia when you're hungry."

Who are The Real Victims of Reform? Some teachers saw administrators and Boards of Education as much victims of school reform as teachers. Teachers never blamed administrators for their anger; always "the State." In fact, some said that fewer teachers aspire to be administrators in their county now because they see how hard it is in these times and how they have little control over the schools.

Teacher Response to School Reform

This section addresses the first research question of the study: What is the variety of teacher responses to school reform? This

section presents a profile of teacher responses based on interviews conducted as illustrated in Table 1. Their responses have been grouped into two categories: (1.) those who talk about school reform, and (2.) those who have engaged in some action as a result of it. When teachers talk about school reform they have a variety of responses that range from cynical to self-protective. Teachers often saw themselves having more than one response (in a composite), so that these responses are not mutually exclusive.

I would speculate that the vast majority of teachers in the state have the "DON'T BOTHER ME, JUST LET ME TEACH" and the "THIS TOO SHALL PASS" responses, since these were among the more popular choices. The "DON'T BOTHER ME, JUST LET ME TEACH" response comes from teachers who don't want to be bothered (or talk) about school reform. They just want to close the classroom door, and be left alone to do their job--teach. Teacher advocates often call them "ostriches" with their heads in the sand. When someone gets them talking about school reform, they will stick their head out and get riled up, then return. They are often secondary teachers who have been untouched by reform.

"THIS TOO SHALL PASS" response, my favorite, comes from teachers who have seen enough cycles of change, bandwagons, and reforms, and believe that this latest cycle shall pass like so many others. When asked about whether their school is "doing school effectiveness," they say, "I think we're through with school effectiveness. We ran out of video tapes."

Table 1

Profile of Teacher Responses

To School Reform in West Virginia

I. Talk about school reform

"DON'T BOTHER ME, JUST LET ME TEACH"

"THIS TOO SHALL PASS"

"I'LL MAKE DO"

"JUST GIVE ME CHALK"

The CRITICAL COMMUTER

"I'M DISILLUSIONED"

"DISILLUSIONED, UNTIL..."

"EQUITY, IF..."

The GRATEFUL COMMUTER

II. Action taken as a result of school reform

PRINCIPAL PLEASING

TEACHER ADVOCACY

WORK-TO-THE-RULE

DROPPING OUT

The next three responses come from teachers more likely to work in small rural schools. The teachers who respond "I'LL MAKE DO" and "JUST GIVE ME CHALK" appear to be among the more hopeful and realistic about school reform. The "I'LL MAKE DO" response comes from a patient, veteran teacher who recognizes the limitations of the schools and of reform, and who "makes do" with whatever materials or equipment are at hand. Sometimes they are the expert scroungers, grateful when someone leaves a well-stocked classroom upon transfer. These teachers take from their own pockets to buy necessary stickers or construction paper, because "it's for the kids." They talk about children and learning when they talk about school reform, and look for simpler times, fewer regulations, and "back to the basics." They are tired of the flack and bad press that they and the schools have received.

The "JUST GIVE ME CHALK" response comes from a special kind of "MAKE DO" teacher who may have been a student of, or teacher in, a one or two room rural school and can teach with just a blackboard and chalk. This teacher has seen and is grateful for the "boom years" of equipment and material brought by the Recht Decision and is hopeful for another. (S)he often is a native of the county and believes that kids can make it through the system---after all, they did it!

The CRITICAL COMMUTER commutes to teach in a rural county, unable to find a position in a home county, and is just waiting to go elsewhere. They want something more---more supplies, more responsive students, a more physically attractive classroom, or they just want to be closer to home. (S)he criticizes the host county, comparing it with the more affluent counties.[33]

The "I'M DISILLUSIONED" response comes from teachers who have thought about leaving the profession or state. They may be new to the ranks or veteran. They came into teaching with altruistic goals, but are close to burn-out. They may not be able to pay doctor's bills, may drive broken-down cars that they can't afford to fix, or may have children who qualify for free and reduced lunch at school.

The final three types of responses within the category of talking about reform come from teachers in the more affluent counties and are different from other responses. Many teachers (and administrators) in the property-wealthy counties are resentful that they have lost money due to equalization, as the State "takes from the rich to give to the poor."

"DISILLUSIONED, UNTIL..." comes from teachers who are concerned about their salaries and failing benefits, <u>until</u> they remember that they teach in a county that provides them supplemental salary and benefits above the state amounts, and <u>until</u> they remember the horror stories about working conditions they've heard from teachers in other counties.

"EQUITY, IF...." is a response that comes from teachers who are angry that their county could lose funds to help the State achieve equity. They explain inequity as a problem in attitude--a "welfare mentality," myopically blaming poor counties for their own plight. If the public would just vote "yes" for excess levies to support the schools, they believe, poor counties could "raise themselves up by the boot straps" like the property-wealthy counties. However, a vote for an excess levy in a property-wealthy county is a vote for business and

industry--not the public--to pay extra funds for education. "A teacher who believes this," says another teacher who works in a property-wealthy county, "has no idea what it's like to live or work in a poor county."

The GRATEFUL COMMUTER is a teacher who was born in or commutes from a poor county to work in a more affluent one. Since (s)he is sensitized to conditions of inequity, (s)he is grateful to work there and is upset with those who "don't really know how good they have it."

The second grouping of responses are from those teachers who have taken action as a result of school reform. Although they are in the minority, TEACHER ADVOCATES and those who WORK-TO-THE-RULE often are the most informed about reform efforts in and conditions throughout the state.

TEACHER ADVOCACY is the action of teachers who have chosen to be politically active as building representatives. They see the connection between advocating for students and teacher rights in order to bring about change in the schools. They have made the decision to do whatever is politically necessary for the betterment of the system.

WORK-TO-THE-RULE is the act of someone who is frustrated or angry with the bureaucracy. They do what is expected "to the letter" of the rule, doing no more or less than what is asked for by the administration. They do not volunteer for extra activities or committees. They enter and leave the building at the designated times.

The next response comes from one of the few who "comply" with school reform directives. PRINCIPAL PLEASING is the action of a nontenured teacher who does what (s)he's told because (s)he wants to

do a good job, or fears reprisal from the principal. As a protection (s)he color codes lesson plans to show everything requested and assumes extra duties "not to make waves," and to avoid a poor evaluation.

DROPPING OUT is the act of an "I'M DISILLUSIONED" teacher who is burned-out. This teacher changes careers, leaves for a better paying job in another state, returns to college to make a transition to the next step of a career (still in education), or takes a break in career.

Dilemmas of School Reform

There are five dilemmas of school reform. They come as a result of the themes and profile and are phrased as questions directed toward policymakers and teachers.

Can teachers ever see the progress of school reform, when they have limited information about it as it evolves? Teachers have limited information about school reform efforts and can only look to material things as a gauge of reform's progress. It seems ironic that a State Superintendent of Schools can see so much progress in the state, and teachers see so little. The State Superintendent admitted that little has been done to systematically apprise teachers and the public about reform's progress. However, it's unfortunate that he feels that teachers do not need to know why changes are occurring. By withholding such information, teachers remain as objects---not willing "partners," and certainly not the hoped for "leaders"---of school reform.

There's an educative dimension that is missing from the school

reform movement in West Virginia, and perhaps in other states. We are failing to educate teachers on the "hows" and "whys" of school reform as mandates are implemented and their consequences are revealed. It seems unethical for such an omission. In times of crisis such as those represented by school reform, action seems to be more valued than information; results seem more important than involvement.

Can school reform transcend paper, when it's paper that helps make reform show progress? Despite the fact that reform activities at the state level are "unprecedented in the history of American education," some believe that "improvement is likely to be only on paper" (Timar & Kirp, 1988, p.75). Teacher references to paperwork, county accreditation, curriculum guides, and lesson plans in this study seem to confirm that reform has reached the state of "paper compliance." Perhaps reform can transcend its paper phase, only if teachers are first informed and then meaningfully involved. State efforts like the Teachers' Forum is a beginning, as long as teacher voices are heard and heeded.

Can school reform be effective and lasting, when it occurs by guilt? Some believe with certainty that reform activities will improve the quality of teaching and learning in the schools. Yet, school reform, teaching, and learning exist more under conditions of uncertainty (Glickman, 1987). Such "hyper-rationality" (Wise, 1979; Timar & Kirp, 1988) encourages us to judge progress by numbers--most frequently those on achievement tests. An incident in one county best illustrates debilitating pressures that can result from such beliefs.

When interviewing an elementary principal, achievement test

results came up. The principal was upset that they were low and discussed how to approach the staff with "the problem." As she talked, guilt seemed to flow from this obvious wound. I responded that it would be counterproductive to approach teachers with such guilt. She needed to give herself permission not to feel guilty so she could plan an affirming, rather than a destructive, approach to her work with teachers. As I talked a weight seemed to lift from her shoulders. That afternoon, I had the same conversation with her superintendent who had felt the same pressure from the county board of education.

As we engage in school reform, we have to give individuals permission to use test results as indicators--not yardsticks--of progress. If not, we lose opportunities for experimentation, creativity, and the truly meaningful activities that can help schools continue to evolve and progress.

As we engage in school reform, we must envision new ways to think about responsible leadership that will liberate--rather than enslave--us and that will allow us to operate in the realm of uncertainty:

> With uncertainty as a given, we must rely on informed human judgment to drive future reform efforts. In accepting uncertainty, we accept the fact that we must learn from others as we develop our own course of action. In accepting uncertainty, we accept improvement efforts as ways of exploring, rather than of controlling the unknown. We open ourselves to risks, and we take responsibility for what our schools and our students become (Glickman, 1987, p. 120).

Can urban models of effective schools be used in rural states when rural states are faced with unique problems? Ironically, the "ruralness" of schools was noticeably absent from discussions with teachers and administrators; yet, this factor confounds reform in the schools of this state as does the state's economic crisis. Both are

part of the larger context which set the parameters of reform. Perhaps, since prescriptions of reform have and continue to be uniform for all schools of the state, it is hard for those in rural schools to see and voice concern for their unique needs. After all, rural schools face more dramatic declines in the tax base at the same time as more dramatic declines in enrollment. Transportation often costs as much as personnel. It is more difficult to recruit and retain teachers for small rural schools.

Also, when we subscribe to principles which give the illusion that reform can occur with little or no funds, we do a disservice to ourselves and the public. Such was part of the undergirding philosophy of the Master Plan and the continued operation of schools despite delays in school aid payments.

The State Superintendent claimed that it was an accomplishment for the State to maintain the same funding for the public schools during a time of declining enrollments. Funds in West Virginia were redistributed--not increased, while others states experienced an increase of 20-25 percent in funds to education (Odden, 1989).

Can we unite people to work towards a coordinated effort to improve schools, when reform fosters competition for scarce resources, devisiveness, and is deficit-based? Morale is a problem in the schools of West Virginia that cannot be ignored. The future of education in this state hinges upon angry, dissatisfied teachers who would leave the state given the opportunity. Dynamic leadership will be needed to solicit their patience and their confidence.

Speculations about the Future

Of all the questions that I asked of teachers and administrators, the future was the most difficult for them to address. Those in the public schools rarely see themselves "in charge" of their fate. However, teachers active in WVEA, administrators, and superintendents were those hopeful about the future of education in the state. Those who were retiring were also among the optimistic.

Teacher advocates were hopeful that the election of Gaston Caperton as Governor would bring more attention to education. Many said "it couldn't get worse." Superintendents said that they wouldn't be in that position if they weren't optimistic.

The Acting State Superintendent of Schools was optimistic and able to speculate the most about the future of education in the state: "It will be perceived as being vastly improved" largely because we have "a Governor who understands that to make a difference you have to have small goals that are achievable,...that we can put some resources and funds behind them and we can say in five years we did this." We have a Governor who believes in a "progress approach," the "value of teachers" and "more teacher involvement." He noted the Teachers' Forum and Teachers' Academy as "link[s] to build leadership at the local level."

On teachers, Pisapia said: "We have to build the right kind of leadership, not political leaders, but very professional leadership. Too many times we have political teachers and what we really need are professional teachers who focus on the professional issues such as readiness testing..."

On money: "If we're talking about money, the only way money is going to get different is if we have an increase in per capita income." "This is the first Governor that we've had who's had this kind of emphasis on education. It has to get better. It can't get any worse" (Pisapia, 1989).

Although it is not clear what new moneys will be provided to education--if any--I believe the "vision" of education is clear. It is represented in the Master Plan and any forthcoming legislation and SBE regulations that will implement its many features. Occasionally, items that show promise from other states, that are "common sense," that are "based on research," or that are among currently accepted practice will be enacted. The Master Plan, however, will be the future of education in West Virginia with or without the teachers of the state.[34]

I also believe that school reform is cyclical. One only has to look to state newspapers to see what public institution or figure is the current object of criticism. Cuban (1989) attributes these cycles to periods of liberals and conservatives in power in the government. If this trend holds true, then state reform directions will remain or shift every four years, depending on the political affiliation of the office of governor. Cuban (1989) predicts a swing to a more liberal philosophy in the country in the early 1990s.

Downs (1972), on the other hand, attributes cycles to public perception of crises. He explicates an "issue-attention cycle" that is a "systematic cycle of heightening public interest and then increasing boredom with major issues" (p.39). In either case, education

nationwide will continue to swing in and out of crises.

Conclusion

West Virginia's approach to school reform has been unlike those of other states. Its genesis was a school finance case; and the vision for education, as reflected in the Master Plan, represents a comprehensive vision of a quality system, not a series of piecemeal reform activities like those in other states.

Since the opinion was issued in 1982, the case has received national attention in journals like Educational Leadership (Hazi, 1983) and the Kappan (Truby, 1983; Sher, 1983c), and has been covered extensively by Education Week (Sher, 1983a; Sirken, 1985). It still continues to receive national attention (e.g., Meckley, Hartnett & Yeager, 1977; Smith & Zirkel, 1988; Mirga, 1988) and is a reminder of the state's inability to provide needed funding for quality education. Ironically, the Recht Decision was issued at the same time that the state's penitentiary was found unconstitutional. Now seven years later, the schools are still operating, but the prison will be closed by 1992.

The state reform efforts have not come close enough to the classroom doors to judge whether teachers, as a group, have accommodated to, or resisted reform. (And, indeed, that was not the intent of the research.) However, I've learned that there is no singular response to school reform. Rather, teachers seem to be accommodative, resistant, and even self-protective towards school reform, depending upon their experience, interest, and knowledge.

It's also not surprising that after seven years, the Recht Decision is a fading memory to many. Still, teachers do have power in their classrooms. If they are uninvolved in reform, they most certainly will not carry out its goals, since they possess the "pocket veto" (Kirst and Walker, 1971). If some teachers feel resistance, they may be like those found by Wolcott (1977) in a study of teacher response to the pilot of a federally funded project. The project was to help schools systematically plan, budget, operate, and evaluate their total educational program. Teachers resisted, however, when they found that the new system took time and energy away from what they were hired to do--teach![35]

I must conclude from the themes and teacher responses found in this case study of school reform, that teachers are disconnected and disenfranchised from their schools. Teachers in West Virginia (and I suspect in many other states) work in climates of quiet rage, despair, helplessness, and indifference. I conclude that teachers are experiencing R2 -- ressentiment, "a subconscious, free floating illtemper which penetrates the personality causing a chronic negativism toward most situations" (Garman, 1982, p.40). Indeed, one of the five issues which teachers discussed at the 1989 Teachers' Forum was "the morale challenge" (Harris, 1989).

I was recently asked the question by a state policymaker, "Do teachers talk about 'empowerment'?" I had to confess at the time that in all my conversations, no one used that exact word to describe their condition or its remedy. I added, "Only those teachers who were active in the teachers association talked about involvement in decision

in the teachers association talked about involvement in decision making."

I was puzzled by my own response. I thought that empowerment should've come up in the voices of teachers (if not in my own). Why didn't it? I then started reading Gene Maeroff's (1988) The Empowerment of Teachers only to discover that I had come to have a very narrow view of the notion. After reading this and other writings, I discovered that "empowerment" could, indeed, be one remedy for the illspirit of teachers in my study.

In a conversation with Ron Brandt (1989), Ann Lieberman admits that the term "empowerment" is misunderstood and value-laden. "Because it has power in it, some people jump to the conclusion that it means a takeover; that teachers are now going to tell everybody what to do" (p.24). In fact, empowerment is much different.

Maeroff (1988) defines empowerment as "the power to exercise one's craft with confidence and to help shape the way that the job is to be done" (p.4). He adds:

> Empowerment...is a term somewhat synonymous with professionalization. It does not necessarily mean being in charge, though that is possible; more than anything else it means working in an environment in which a teacher acts as a professional and is treated as a professional (Maeroff, 1988, p. 6).[36]

I believe that teachers in this study were asking to be treated as professionals. Therefore, they were asking for empowerment. They were however, unable to label it as such. Language, indeed, is power!

In my discovery of the concept of empowerment, I also discovered a catch-22. If teachers receive limited information about school reform efforts in a county and a state, and they have no opportunity

express their feelings, they also cannot understand that they are the remedy.

Teachers are the most crucial element to quality education in a state. A quote from Vivian Kidd, Director of the West Virginia Education Fund, best sums up the importance of teachers to a quality education and to school reform:

> The battle for excellence and equity will be won or lost in the classroom. The greatest influence in the reform movement is from teachers. They must be given opportunities for creativity, opportunities for flexibility as they manage their classrooms, opportunities to renew the profession, opportunities for a collegial relationship with other professional members of the community, opportunities to advance in their careers, and opportunities to let the people of West Virginia know that their investment is paying off (WVDE, 1988, p.5).

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Notes

1. Thanks go to Terry Peterson, Executive Director of South Carolina's Joint Business-Education Subcommittee of the South Carolina Education Improvement Act for this category.

2. Even though states like West Virginia were involved in reform before A Nation at Risk, the year 1983 is used because the number of states involved substantially increased when the report was released.

3. Since the mid-1970s many governments from countries around the world have paid increased attention to educational reform rhetoric and activity. During periods of economic crisis in capitalistic countries, attention is often shifted away from the economy to education (Ginsburg, Cooper & Raghu, 1989). Education becomes the vehicle for a political "placebo," that is, education becomes the way for a government to acknowledge awareness of its economic, political, or cultural problems and then to restore order, rather than to correct what is really wrong (Campbell, 1982).

4. It was an analysis of a sample of teacher collective bargaining contracts from 1980 to 1985 and an analysis of educational changes in six states through interviews with over 600 policymakers and educators. Also, some feel that public sentiment is a response to the teacher unionizing of the 1960s, and resulting strikes (e.g., William Bennett).

5. It also helped that early reform measures were attacked by a wide variety of scholars and practitioners (Murphy, 1989). For example, Theodore Sizer: "I don't think we've gotten to the heart of the problem. We're still talking about testing everybody and putting the screws on the existing system even more. The problem is the existing system. And until we face up to that unpleasant fact--that the existing system has to change--we're not going to get the kinds of changes that everybody wants" (Olson, 1988).

6. This is not to say that teachers have been freed from the pressures of reform. Quite the contrary, as principals have picked up pressure for accountability (e.g., "Principals in Cleveland will receive higher salaries--and be held more accountable for student performance," 1989) they have, in turn, directed it back to teachers primarily through their evaluations (Garman & Hazi, 1987 and Hazi & Garman, 1988).

7. The simplicity of the effective schools message also encouraged it to be used by the New Jersey State Department of Education in a school finance suit. They defended themselves by arguing that there was no link between quality education and funding, since they believe that if schools would just use the correlates of effective schools research

they would eliminate any inequities (Abbott v. Burke, 1985).

8. They have also spoken at meetings of various publics, and have regularly written for educational journals and newspapers like The New York Times and Education Week.

9. Forty percent of beginning teachers leave within their first five years. The median length of service is now about 8 years (Elam, 1989).

10. DeYoung (1987) classifies the early research on rural schools as: 1) surveys which generated statistical profiles that proved their inferior status, 2) projection studies of facilities and staff which would make them more efficient, 3) quasi-empirical accounts of innovative and cost-effective techniques and supervision practices, and 4) studies in the field of eugenics which proved the cognitive inferiority of rural children.

He classifies later scholarship within four interrelated categories: 1) an interest in minority and handicapped children in rural areas, 2) research and commentary on their problems of finance, curriculum, and staffing, 3) attempts to construct research agendas for rural and small-schools education, and 4) attempts to discuss educational reform in the context of community economic development.

11. More specifically, manufacturing includes chemicals, primary metals, petroleum and coal products, electric and electronic equipment, and transportation equipment (mainly for foreign export), The service-producing industry includes health, legal, construction, and business (McCarthy, 1989).

12. My colleague Mike Reppy reminds me that this statistic may be deceiving, since a decrease in the jobless rate may not account for the droves of workers who have left the state.

13. In 1988 the first task force was formed in West Virginia to investigate the plight of rural schools. Much data is still being compiled (Harmon, 1989).

14. The funding of education in the state was found unconstitutional. Property-wealthy counties were able to pass excess levies, while property-poor ones were not. One individual I interviewed explained the voter: "A vote for the levy in a property-wealthy county, is a vote for business to pay." When rural counties are able to pass a levy, they are likely to raise only an average of 9% of available funds (Special Task Force on Rural School Districts, 1989).

15. Recht objected to 17 years as the full implementation period required for quality and equity, but did not recommend any fixed timetable. Also, the Master Plan had failed to include a citizens grievance procedure (Pauley v. Bailey, 1983).

16. Although the state has seen three state superintendents during the tenure of Pauley v. Bailey, John Pisapia, who has served as a bureau chief, Assistant State Superintendent, and then acting Superintendent, is considered one of the remaining "architects" of the Master Plan.

17. This list omits ideas that were proposed but never reached policy such as "Lighthouse Schools" (1987), a promise to ease regulations for those schools that would implement innovative techniques, and the "Distinguished Teacher Program" (1987), a reward system for outstanding teachers that combined merit pay and a career ladder.

18. The three major policies include: Policy 2100 (the goals of education), Policy 5100 (changes in certification and licensure tests for those enrolled in teacher/administrator preparation programs as of 1985), and Policy 2510 (the standards for quality education and the monitoring mechanism, "county accreditation").

19. Enrollments have increased in advanced level courses of math, science, and languages. The number of students taking advanced placement tests has also increased ("For the record: Are we investing enough in our children?" 1989).

20. The state ranked first and second in writing and reading, respectively, in the Southern Regional Education Board Testing Program.

21. The state has made the second fastest improvement of any state in increasing graduation rates by jumping to the 21st place (Pisapia, 1989).

22. Some have even been driven to play the lottery. A group of 51 of the staff of a high school chipped in $2.00 to play the Ohio Lottery and won $3 million (Keylor, 1988).

23. WVDE has involved teachers in two other efforts: in the Teachers' Academy (since 1986) and by involving approximately 1,000 teachers throughout the state in specifying learning outcomes. But WVDE decided to invest more in principals than teachers. Principals became the state's key agents of school reform. Almost one-third of them have graduated from the Principals' Academy since 1985.

24. The major issues identified during the 1987 Teachers' Forum on "Recruitment, Retention, and Reform" were:

The media should be used to fully project a positive image of the teaching profession.
The role of educators should be professionalized.
Salary and benefits must be improved.
Adequate facilities must be provided.
Teachers must have the time and tools to do their job, and needless requirements and tasks must be eliminated.
A system must be designed to assure "real" participation by teachers in decision-making.
Many types of recognition for teachers must be provided.
Teacher preparation programs must provide realistic training.

> Staff development must be revitalized.
> Education must cease to be a "political playground"; educators and legislators must work together for long-range planning to replace current "band aid" solutions (WVDE, 1987a, p.3).

25. When I make statements like this about teachers, I am referring to those with whom I spoke. Also, see Appendix A for the questions which were used in the interview.

26. Step 7, one part of the State's funding formula, was targeted for school improvement.

27. He believed that teachers who went through the Teachers' Academy were "beginning to feel that same type of ownership."

28. Although time ranges have since been deleted from state regulations, many counties still keep them.

29. Sometimes money was appropriated, then "raided" for contract paving and extended health insurance coverage for retired employees. An estimated $150 million deficit is expected.

30. The standard on lessons plans from SBE 2321 is: "Teachers have lesson plans which include activities designed to accomplish curricular goals (6.1.a)" and "Classroom learning activities are consistent with the growth and developmental levels of students (6.1.b.)."

Those responsible for on-site review of such indicators were trained to verify that "copies of the curricular goals are available at the county office and at each school. Lesson plans should be available from each teacher at each school. Randomly review lesson plans to determine the general relationship between activities and curricular goals in each grade and content area" (WVDE, 1987b, p.44).

31. Pisapia admitted in the interview that lesson plans had <u>not</u> come from the <u>Master Plan</u>. In hindsight, it had been a mistake to have included it.

32. Higher education has also been forced into this competition. During the 1988-89 school year when teachers received no pay increase for two years in a row, those in higher education did. This unfortunate twist of events only created ill-will and was mentioned during interviews.

33. In fact, in Lincoln County, 40% of its staff commutes from nearby counties.

34. Although it is beyond the scope of this report to argue the merits of the <u>Master Plan</u>, I believe that by the year 2000 we will have the best 1960s school system. Although currently acceptable educational practice is among its many features, its driving hub--learning outcomes and the curriculum--are based on outdated conceptions of the

roles of students and teachers as "receivers" and "givers"--not "managers" of information and technology.

35. Wolcott (1977) identified forms of compliance: "going along," "antagonistic acceptance," "innovative acceptance," "wait-and-see," and "dropping out." Forms of resistance were "heel dragging," "holding back enthusiasm," "dialogue management," "mockery," "real and ritual bitching," "talking the program down," "consciously subverting the program," and "passive defiance." Teacher activist also took further actions, informally and formally, for resistance.

36. Maeroff (1988) writes about teacher involvement and reaction to special programs funded by a national effort to strengthen arts and humanities education in the secondary schools. I had discovered that empowerment was the key concept of my research after reading the remarkably similar comments and descriptions of his disenfranchised and demoralized teachers prior to their involvement in this effort.

APPENDIX A
RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCEDURE

Purpose

The purpose of the research was to explicate the significant issues and dilemmas of school reform from the point of view of selected teachers in West Virginia. This appendix reports on the design of and procedures for the research Teachers and the Recht Decision: A West Virginia Case Study of School Reform.

Nature of the Research

The research is interpretive in nature (Soltis, 1984), utilizing case study methodology (Yin, 1984). The interpretive/analytic is a mode of inquiry into the human realm of intersubjective meaning for the purpose of theorizing about events under study. In this mode, individuals provide testimony and evidence about the events under study and this data is interpreted both by the researcher and the participants (Garman, 1986).

Research Questions

Interpretive research has questions which guide the inquiry. This study has three: (1.) What are the responses of teachers in the state to school reform? (2.) What are themes about the nature and conduct of school reform? and (3.) What are speculations about future school reform efforts and teacher response to them in the state?

Research Design

Two primary activities were used to address these questions: interviews with selected teachers (and other role groups) and analyses of relevant documents. I interviewed a variety of teachers and administrators at five sites throughout West Virginia. A cache of documents was accumulated and analyzed.

There were five rounds of interviews, one for each site. Data from interviews was collected and interpreted with each round. As is the case in interpretive inquiry, data is collected and interpreted simultaneously. Interpretation is not the last phase of the research project; rather, it is concurrent and cyclic (Glazer & Strauss, 1967).

Case study notes, as recommended by Yin (1984), were written to keep track of questions about the data that needed to be clarified, to establish a record of the research process, and to provide notes for interpretation. A working bibliography was also composed early in the process as recommended by Yin (1984).

In keeping with the procedures for insuring rigor, the principles

of theoretic sampling and theoretical saturation were used to guide the inquiry. Verbatim statements by participants, direct statements from fugitive documents and other artifacts were used as exemplars, providing the verisimilitude or truth-likeness (Bruner, 1985) required within the interpretive mode of inquiry (Garman, 1986).

The research design can be described as an ever-changing spiral, smaller at its base and increasingly larger or smaller at each ascending loop. Each loop of the spiral represents each interview site. The size of the spiral depends upon where I was in placing data into categories and interpreting that data. (And now as I write this final report, the research process appears more rational and uniform like a "slinky" than it actually was.)

Sources of Data

Two sources of data were used to address the questions. The first was interviews. I conducted in-depth interviews with teachers at different sites which included schools in the counties of Tyler, Lincoln, Tucker, and Pleasants. I also interviewed teachers attending the fall conference of the state's largest teachers' association, the West Virginia Education Association (WVEA) in Charleston. Since this was an interpretive study, I was concerned with variety of teacher response, rather than representativeness.

Lincoln was selected because it was the school system where parents challenged the quality of education in Pauley v. Bailey. Pleasants was selected because it is one of the property-wealthy school systems and was held up as exemplary during the trial. Tucker was selected because it is rural and property-poor. Tyler was selected because it was partly rural with some industry.

Those Interviewed

During the study I was able to achieve that variety of teacher response. I spoke to:

* elementary, middle, and high school teachers,

* special education, vocational, and itinerant teachers,

* first year teachers and those ready to retire,

* those who always wanted to teach and those who came late to teaching from another field like law,

* a woman who began her career as a school janitor and who now taught at that same school,

* a first year teacher who was sending off five employment applications to other counties and states, and

* a teacher whose children qualified for free and reduced lunch.

and showed people the list of responses, asking them which one best described how they felt. For the fourth and fifth rounds I continued to confirm and refine these descriptions but changed the interview format to include the following questions:

> What changes have you seen in your classroom (and school) since the time of the Recht Decision (1982)?
>
> What concerns do you have with school reform?
>
> What lessons should we be learning about how school reform is conducted?

Formulation of the Profile

A profile of teacher responses was formulated to address the first research question: What are the responses of teachers in the state to school reform?

I discovered my first response type during the first round of interviews after having an in-depth conversation with a teacher (and former student). He had described how he felt about the state and the many bandwagons and cycles of change he had seen. He communicated a feeling of distance from all reform in his county and state. He used the words "Don't bother me, just let me teach" to describe his feelings. Subsequently, as I talked with other people, that kind of attitude was confirmed. I used his own words to label and describe the response, thus "grounding" the type in the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

This was how subsequent response types were formulated. I can attribute each response type to a particular person that I met during the study. I used their own words to label the response, with two exceptions. I used Cole's (1988) notion of "make do" and Wolcott's (1977) notion of "dropping out" to label the responses of "I'll make do" and "Dropping out," respectively. The profile appears in the text of the document.

Identification of Themes

Themes were identified to address the second research question: What are themes about the nature and conduct of school reform? A list of issues and dilemmas about school reform were the result.

I had intended to formulate and confirm themes about school reform within each round as I had the teacher responses. Unfortunately, few patterns emerged early in the study. At first I was concerned, until I realized that teachers had varying perspectives about school reform, depending upon their knowledge of, and interest. It became apparent, however, that teachers knew very little about school reform in their county and in the state. (This, in fact, became one reoccurring theme.) I decided to confirm themes when I sent a

Collection and Interpretation of Data

Data from interviews was collected and interpreted in rounds with each interview site and the findings at each site contributed to interviewing at subsequent sites. Subsequent rounds of interviews contribute to a saturation of data (Stern, 1980), confirming the utility of the categories and themes.

The Rounds of Interviews

Before interviewing, participants were told about the purpose of the study, that participation was voluntary, that confidentiality would be maintained (except for public officials), and that they did not have to answer every question. All had a choice of whether their interview was tape recorded. About half were taped.

The following questions began the first round of interviews with teachers in the first site Tyler County (Sept. 29, 30, 1988):

> From your recollections, what was the original intent of the Recht Decision?
>
> Was this accomplished? Why/why not?
>
> What changes have you seen in (your) classroom(s) since the time of the Recht Decision?
>
> Do you attribute these changes to the court case? If not, why did they come about?

Probing questions were asked, depending upon their responses. Administrators were asked these same questions.

The second site was the WVEA fall conference in Charleston, WV (Oct. 14, 15, 1988). I kept the same interview format as in the first round, but I also summarized previous dialogue by asking probes, e.g., "Some teachers feel____. Do you know of any teachers like this? What would you call that kind of a response?"

This technique called "grounding," i.e. the simultaneous collection and interpretation of data was important since the goal of the interview process was to formulate and confirm types of teacher response to school reform and to add new types as they emerged. Thus, descriptions and their labels were continually "grounded" with each round of data collection and interpretation (Glazer & Strauss, 1967).

During this round I also kept track of the participant's county to account for any unique responses. This proved important later in the study, since I was able to recognize three new responses in the last round when talking to teachers from a property-wealthy county.

By the third round of interviews I had produced a written draft of teacher responses to school reform. This site was in Lincoln County (November 14, 15, and 16, 1988). I used the same interview questions

I spoke to these people alone and in groups in classrooms, libraries, lunchrooms, hallways, and in principal offices. My visit to school sites had been announced to teachers and all those who wanted to talk with me sought me out. Often I was stationed in rooms where faculty congregated like lounges and workrooms.

Although teacher response was the focus of the research, I also interviewed others: board members, counselors, directors, supervisors, principals, assistant principals, superintendents, and members of the West Virginia Department of Education (WVDE). I felt these individuals helped me to understand the contexts of teacher comments.

I spent 10 days on site and another six days traveling to them during the 1988-89 school year and spoke to approximately 200 people. I was able to record 21 hours of interviews on audio tapes. In other instances, I just talked with people because they preferred not to be taped or it just seemed inappropriate to do so.

A Cache of Documents

A cache of documents was another source of data. A cache is

> a collection of documents related by topic which contain primary data for analyses. A collection of letters, a series of reports or articles, or a collection of legal documents are examples. Documents in a cache can be analyzed to obtain salient information about an event, person, social scene, or issue....Such documents have generally been used as background or supplemental information to...understand the area of study. These documents, however, can be used as primary data for analysis and interpretation in the research process" (Hazi, 1982, p.13).

I obtained newspaper articles, documents from the WVDE, and research and writings from educational journals as the study evolved. Newspaper articles were collected from The New York Times, Education Week, WVEA Journal, and the Charleston Gazette. WVDE documents included: annual reports, issues of their newspaper State Ed, speeches of the State Superintendent, the West Virginia Report Card, task force reports, reports from special activities like the Teachers' Forum, and personal writings. Demographic data about teachers in the state was obtained from the WVEA. I also collected all national reform reports and their analyses (e.g., The Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession, 1986) and surveys of teachers during the decade of reform (e.g., The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1988a).

Research and writings were identified through ERIC searches, the holdings of AEL, and serendipitous encounters in the open stacks and with colleagues. Topics included: school reform, rural schools, educational change, teacher empowerment, teacher involvement in change and innovation, and teacher resistance. Author searches were also conducted.

draft of the technical report out in confirmation, the final step of the study. In interpretive research decisions are often made as the research proceeds and the expertise of the researcher is acknowledged, rather than diminished or ignored (Stake, 1978).

Possible themes were recorded in the case study notes, that were scraps of paper scribbled in the field. Yin (1984) states that "the only essential characteristics of the notes are that they be organized, categorized, complete, and thus available for later access" (p.94). Themes were identified at the last site and after interviewing by reviewing case study notes, talking about the study to colleagues, and listening to tapes of interviews. One criterion to identify themes was reoccurrence, i.e. whether information appeared in patterns. Another was saliency, i.e., whether an idea or issue was prominent or conspicuous, standing out above others. A single occurrence of an idea could result in a theme. Then when I talked to colleagues, I would look for comments like, "That doesn't surprise me," "I know teachers like that," and "That's right!" to confirm whether a theme was important.

A final step was confirmation, a validation strategy in interpretive research. The key to a successful account of the story of a case is to have it corroborated by some of its participants (Magoon, 1977). Over 50 individuals were given copies of the technical report in August of 1989. Some had been interviewed, while others (e.g., colleagues in higher education, public schools, students) had not. They were asked to review the report to corroborate the essential facts, and to surface additional facts and themes for interpretation. If this procedure produced contradictions, new data or points for analysis, they were to be corrected or incorporated into the final report.

Most individuals either talked with me, sent a letter, or returned their copy of the technical report. A few forwarded their copy to others to read. All responses were in support of the profile and themes. In fact, excerpts from a few letters can capture the reaction:

> "I am the 'grateful commuter' as described in your report. I am also at times frustrated and could be described as 'just leave me alone and let me do my job.' During my tenure as a teacher, I have seen many changes....But I was only vaguely aware that these were all a part of a Master Plan....Some of the reforms have proven to be an annoyance to me....Others have placed more pressure on me as a teacher....The effective school research movement has proven to be a benefit for me."---TEACHER

> "I have read (and reread) the draft of the technical report on school reform which you sent and with great interest!....much of the information you reported, especially the teacher responses to school reform, is so accurate (in relation to what I hear from teachers where I work) that it was frightening! Your ability to state these responses so concisely is incredible. (I can attach a faculty member's name from our school to each of the

responses...)."---CURRICULUM COORDINATOR

"You were able to 'put your finger on the pulse' as far as teachers' feelings on how the Recht decision has or has not affected them. I would certainly hope that all those concerned about education in West Virginia would read your report -- especially those responsible for making policy decisions."-- Kayetta Meadows, WVEA PRESIDENT

"I found the paper both informative and depressing. You put into perspective many of the same research articles I have reviewed in the past....I was depressed after reading your study to find that your case study results paint a dim rather than a positive teacher attitude toward reform and the state's educational future. This same attitude can be applied to the instructional staff of ---County."---TEACHER, DEPARTMENT CHAIR

"Part of the problem is the way we regard ourselves, not just how the public sees us...Teachers are not the problem. They are part of the solution....Most teachers are fatalistic and pessimistic about their ability to control their own fate (fear of administrative reprisal, lack of control, no voice, low esteem of their own value, RIFing, lack of knowledge about legislative issues, lack of knowledge of rights, failure to assume responsibility for their own professionalism..."---TEACHER

Results

The research had three results to address each of the three research questions: (1.) a profile illustrating the variety of teacher responses to school reform, (2.) a list of issues and dilemmas about the school reform process and the place of teachers in it. (3.) speculations for educational reform in the state. These results are reported in Chapter 2 of this document.

Appendix B

LIST OF REFORM ACTIVITIES IN WEST VIRGINIA SINCE 1982

These activities were compiled from annual reports of the West Virginia Department of Education (WVDE, 1985-86, 1986-87, 1987-88) and newspaper articles fromthe WVDE newspaper, State Ed. I have grouped them into three major categories: (1) Upgrading Teacher/Administrator Quality, (2) Upgrading the Curriculum, and (3) Administrative. In no particular order, the list is illustrative, not exhaustive. When possible I have indicated the year initiated.

Upgrading Teacher/Administrator Quality

Evaluation/Assessment
-Competency Testing for teachers and administrators (SBE 5100, 1985)
-NASSP Assessment Center for the selection of principals (1985-86)
-A uniform evaluation policy and procedure (SBE 5310, 1985)
-Student writing assessment (1985-86)
-Learning Outcomes Testing Program (within WV Statewide Testing of Educational Progress (WV-STEP)

Training
-Leaders of Learning Conferences (since 1982-83)
-Principals' Academy (1985)
-Teachers' Academy (1986)
-Institute for Chief Instructional Leaders (1985)
-Special Education Leadership Academy (1987)
-Effective schools program network (1986-87)
-Vocational Administrators Academy (1988)
-Beginning teacher programs

Awards
-Exemplary Schools/School Recognition Program for schools (1984)
-Minigrants to teachers for Classroom Projects from the WV Education Fund (1983)
-Outstanding Educator Merit Awards to teachers and principals from the WV Education fund (1983)
-Christa McAuliffe Fellowship (1987-88)
-Certificates of Recognition to teachers with permanent certification (1988)

Upgrading Curriculum

-specified Learning Outcomes for each subject in curriculum guides
-related textbook adoption process to Learning Outcomes
-increased graduation requirements (1984-85)
-SBE 2510 (1985): second generation standards for the Master Plan
-Instructional time requirements
-Governor's Honors Academy
-1990 Targets for Public Education (1985)
-Arts in the Classroom 4-12 (1988)

-Remedial education programs

Administrative

Funding of Education
-Calculation of Step 7 changed to try to equalize funding in counties
-First step to equalize salaries across counties (1984)
-Second step for equity in salaries (1989)

Monitoring
-County Accreditation and on-site monitoring (1983-84)
-WV School Report Cards (1988)
-School-by-school accreditation

Technology
-Microcomputer Educational Network for instruction
-Computerized administrative network for communications
-Distance Learning Program-a Satellite uplink instructional program for students and staff (1988)
-computerized record keeping for hot lunch program (1985-86)

Buildings
-Better School Buildings Amendment (1986-87) projects
-West Virginia Beautification Program (1987)
-asbestos removal
-repair/replacement of buildings from the 1985 flood

Community Involvement
-School-Business partnerships
-Building advisory councils
-Parent (of special ed students) resource centers

Policy Input
-"On This We Agree"-the first time in many years that teachers, administrators, service personnel and others were united on their requests to lawmakers (1988)
-WV Teachers Forum (1987)
-Council of Professional Education (COPE) on certification (1988)

Miscellaneous
-2.0 GPA for participation in extra-curricular activities (1983)
-Revocation of drivers license of dropouts

Appendix C

Excerpts from West Virginia State Board of Education (SBE) Policy

Chart I Programs of Study for a Throrough and Efficient System of Education in Early Childhood Education, Middle Childhood Education, and Adolescent Education from "A Legacy of Excellence" (Pisapia, 1984, p. 13-17)

and

Chart IV Percentage Range of Instruction Time for Early Childhood Education (K-4) from SBE Policy 2510

CHART I
(Adopted 5-11-84)

Programs of Study for a Thorough and Efficient System of Education in
Early Childhood Education, Middle Childhood Education, and Adolescent Education

NOTE: All assumptions (numbers) and footnotes (letters) appear in parentheses on this chart.

Programs of Study (1) (3) (4) / Programmatic Levels (2)	Early Childhood Education Levels K-4		Middle Childhood Education Levels 5-8		Adolescent Education Levels 9-12	
	Required	Elective	Required	Elective	Required (d)	Elective
Art	Art	-	Art	Exploratory Studies	(b)	• 1 offering: General Art • 1 offering: Art History/ Appreciation • 4 offerings: Studio Art (c)
Career Exploration	-	-	Career Exploration	Exploratory Studies	Career Exploration	• Career Exploration I & II
Computer Education	Computer Education	-	Computer Education	Exploratory Studies	Computer Education	• Computer Programming
Consumer & Homemaking	Consumer & Homemaking	-	Consumer & Homemaking	Exploratory Studies	(b)	• Surviving Today's Experiences & Problems Successfully • Adult Roles & Functions • 1 offering from each: Advanced Clothing, Consumer Education, Foods and Nutrition, Resource Management • Offerings from (c)
Developmental Guidance	Developmental Guidance (q)	-	Developmental Guidance (q)	Exploratory Studies	Developmental Guidance (q)	-

CHART (continued)
(Adopted 5-11-84)

Programs of Study (1) (3) (4) / Programmatic Levels (2)	Early Childhood Education Levels K-4		Middle Childhood Education Levels 5-8		Adolescent Education Levels 9-12	
	Required	Elective	Required	Elective	Required (d)	Elective
Driver Education	-	-	-	-		Driver Education
Foreign Languages Language (t)	Foreign	- Language (t)	Foreign Foreign	Level 1 of 2	(b)	• Levels I, II, III & IV of two foreign languages • Special Topic • Level V of first language Levels II, III & IV of second language
Health	Health	-	Health	Exploratory Studies	Health	• 2 offerings
Industrial Arts	-	-	Industrial Arts	Exploratory Studies	(b)	• 3 offerings from: Communications, Construction, Manufacturing, Transportation
Language Arts	Language Arts	-	Language Arts	Exploratory Studies	English or Eng. & Speech	• 10 offerings (e)
Library/Media	Library/Media	-	Library/Media	Exploratory Studies	(s)	(s)
Mathematics	Math	Remedial Math	Math	Exploratory Studies • Remedial Math	Math (g)	• Algebra I & II, • Geometry, • Trigonometry, • General Math, • 2 offerings: Applied Math (g) • Pre-calculus

CHART I (continued)
(Adopted 5-11-84)

Programs of Study (1) (3) (4) / Programmatic Levels (2)	Early Childhood Education Levels K-4		Middle Childhood Education Levels 5-8		Adolescent Education Levels 9-12	
	Required	Elective	Required	Elective	Required (d)	Elective
Music	Music	Instrumental Music-Strings	Music (r)	• Choral Music, • Instrumental Music - Winds and Percussion, • Instrumental Music - Strings • Exploratory Studies • Class Guitar (h) • Class Piano (h)	(b)	• Instr. Music - Winds and Percussion, • Choral Music, • Instrumental Music - Strings, • Music Literature • Class Guitar (h) • Class Piano (h)
Physical Education	Phy. Ed.	-	Phy. Ed.	Exploratory Studies	Phy. Ed.	• 1 offering: Lifetime Sports or Advanced Offerings (e.g., Gymnastics, Tumbling)
Reading	Reading & (f)	Remedial Reading	Reading & (f)	Exploratory Studies • Remedial Reading (i)	(f)	• Developmental Reading, • Remedial Reading (i) • Speed Reading • Advanced Study Skills
Safety	Bus/School Safety Add: Pedestrian, Bicycle, & Others	-	-	-	-	-
Science	Science	-	Science	Exploratory Studies	Biology	• General/ Physical Science, • Chemistry, • Physics • 1 offering each: General/Physical Sciences, Biological Sciences • Additional offerings (j)

CHART I (continued)
(Adopted 5-11-84)

Programs of Study (1) (3) (4) / Programmatic Levels (2)	Early Childhood Education Levels K-4		Middle Childhood Education Levels 5-8		Adolescent Education Levels 9-12	
	Required	Elective	Required	Elective	Required (d)	Elective
Social Studies	Social Studies WV Studies (a)	-	Social Studies WV Studies (a)	Exploratory Studies	Social Studies Amer. His., World Cul., Economics, Cont. Amer. (k)	• 3 offerings (l)
Special Education - Gifted	-	• Intel. Gifted • Specific Academic Abilities Instruction • Visual and Performing Arts Instr.	-	• Intel. Gifted • Specific Academic Abilities Instruction • Visual and Performing Arts Instr.	-	• Intel. Gifted • Specific Academic Abilities Instruction • Visual and Performing Arts Instr.
- Other Categories of Exceptionality	-	• Provide Instr. to identified students as determined by IEP • Preschool Handicapped, All Categories	-	• Provide Instr. to identified students as determined by IEP	-	• Provide Instr. to identified students as determined by IEP (i) (m)
Typing	-	-	-	-	(b)	1 offering: Typing
Other Vocational Areas (n)	-	-	-	-	(b)	Offerings from 6 Service Areas (p)

Required Offerings - Required offerings are those areas of study which must be available and all students must complete.

Elective Offerings - Elective offerings are those areas of study which must be available and students may choose to study, based upon need and interest.

Assumptions

(1) Programs of study are further defined by (a) learning outcomes approved by the West Virginia Board of Education in accordance with Policy 2422.01 and (b) learning outcomes approved by county boards of education in accordance with their respective policies.

(2) Programmatic levels refer broadly to early childhood education, middle childhood education, and adolescent education. However, programmatic levels are subdivided into levels, e.g., K, 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., which represent the scope and sequence used to organize the learning outcomes within a program of study and its related areas of study.

CHART IV

PERCENTAGE RANGE OF INSTRUCTION TIME
FOR EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION (K-4)[1]

THE KINDERGARTEN AND TRANSITIONAL KINDERGARTEN[2] PROGRAMS		GRADES 1-4	
PROGRAM AREA	PERCENTAGE RANGE OF INSTRUCTIONAL TIME	PROGRAM AREA	PERCENTAGE RANGE OF INSTRUCTIONAL TIME
Intellectual Concepts[3]	30 - 40%	Art	3 - 5%
Physical/Motor Concepts[4]	20 - 25%	Health/Science	5 - 7%
Social/Emotional Concepts[5]	20 - 25%	Language Arts/Reading	35 - 50%
Discretionary Time may be used for:	15 - 20%	Math	16 - 19%
		Music	3 - 5%
• Additional Concept Area Time • Reinforcement Activities • Addressing Individual and Group Interests and Needs • Language Stimulation • Self-Help Skills		Physical Education	3 - 5%
		Social Studies	5 - 7%
		Discretionary Time may be used for:	10 - 15%
		• Additional Subject Area Time • Remediation • Addressing Individual and Group Interests and Needs	

[1]These charts are based upon a 158 minute instructional day for kindergarten and a 315 minute instructional day for transitional kindergarten and grades 1 through 4. The instructional day falls within the 8 hour school day and is defined as time allocated for mastery of learning outcomes. It does not include such things as recess and lunch. The remaining portion of the school day may be used for such things as staff meetings, staff development, and non-instructional student activities.

[2]The transitional kindergarten program is for children who need an additional year before entering first grade. The instructional school day is 315 minutes.

[3]Intellectual activities include but are not limited to language arts, science, and mathematics.

[4]Physical/motor activities include but are not limited to physical education and creative arts.

[5]Social/emotional activities include but are not limited to social studies, health, and the creative arts.

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